

ANARCHY

Number 10

DISARM AUTHORITY! ARM YOUR DESIRES!

Feb/March 1986

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**The ideal of the state
is Totalitarianism**

News in Review

edited by Lev Chernyi

The faces of terror

"It was an inferno. They started throwing hand grenades and firing submachine guns. We all threw ourselves to the ground and blood spread over the floor. I fell on the body of a girl, and a grenade splinter hit me in the face."

Dora Silvestri, after a terrorist attack on the Rome airport on December 27, 1985 ('Terrorist raid kills 16; Israel vows revenge,' Detroit Free Press--12/28/85)

"My wife is dead. Her name was Concepcion Sanchez Alvaro. We have no children. We were going to have one. In other words, she was four months pregnant. They put a gun in her mouth and shot. They also used bayonets on her stomach. Not only her, but to others as well."

Saul Robles Alvaro, after Nicaraguan contras attacked the La Sopres coffee farm on November 14, 1984, killing 16 people (What We Have Seen and Heard: The Effects of the Contra War Against Nicaragua, edited by Yvonne Dilling).

The above quotes are only a few examples of the many faces of terrorism, but what separates the two are how they are portrayed to us by the news media. A media that has endlessly reported on the airport attacks in Rome, while the torture and slaughter of thousands of civilians by Nicaraguan "contra" terrorists, goes unreported. A media that, without giving a shred of evidence, has condemned Libya for financing the attackers in the airport raid, while virtually ignoring the fact that the contras are financed and supplied by the United States government.

Since the December '85 airport attacks, hardly a day has gone by when we haven't been inundated with reports and warnings of "international terrorism." From the front pages of local newspapers to the full-color transmissions of nightly TV news, we've been told how no American is safe from the evil machinations of Libya's Col. Moammar Khadafy and his Palestinian "henchmen"--men so desperate and bloodthirsty, that it's only a matter of time before you and I are their next targets. After the recent "industrial accident" that claimed the lives of seven astronauts aboard the shuttle Challenger, one NBC reporter even questioned whether "Libyan terrorists" might have sabotaged the "mission."

Without even an attempt at tackling the realities of U.S. "state sponsored terrorism," the media has accepted this government's propaganda that Khadafy is not only "the most dangerous man in the world," as Reagan put it, but also the money and brains behind any and all, real or illusory, terrorist assaults against the U.S. Only last summer, when TWA flight 847 was seized in Lebanon, Reagan then pointed to the Nicaraguan government as the source of all terrorism!

For argument's sake, let us believe what the government and a complacent news media tell us about Khadafy and his terrorists, even though neither institution has come up with any verifiable evidence. But let's say he is an exporter of terrorism, does it really make him that much different from Ronald Reagan or the U.S. government (any government

for that matter)? Except for the fact that Khadafy is really just a small potato and could never finance covert (read "terrorist") actions as large as those funded by the U.S., the answer is an emphatic "NO!" As for Reagan's calling him "the most dangerous man in the world," well, at best it's hypocritical. While the airport attacks were certainly inhuman and barbaric, they can in no way compare with the horrific pain and loss of life among men, women and children when an American warship indiscriminately shelled Lebanese mountain villages in 1983. Under the pretense of a "peace-keeping mission," this recommissioned World War 2 battleship, sitting a mile out at sea, saturated the villages with eleven 200+ pound shells per minute, with its 16 inch guns.

While guerillas can kill one person here or twenty there, nothing can match the "kill ratio" of the U.S. military, and only power like that of the modern U.S. state can terrorize any and all nations with the threat of invasion and mass killing. Over the last 40 years the U.S. has even threatened other nations with the ultimate terror, nuclear warfare, numerous times.

Then there's Roberto D'Aubuisson, the person in control of the Salvadoran death-squads responsible for the torture and murder of thousands of that country's dissidents. He was trained in the late 1960's at a Pan-American police academy here in the U.S. And in fact, many of the police torturers and death-squad members in countries like Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Colombia, Uruguay, Guatemala, and Samoz's National Guard--now-turned-contras, had their training under the same U.S. program. But you'll never see front page headlines screaming about "American-trained terrorists," or Reagan as a "terrorist mastermind."

As The Nation magazine commented in its July 20/27th issue, although there are no known acts of terror perpetrated against the U.S. by Nicaragua, "the other side of the ledger is far from blank...." Not only has the U.S. organized, financed and equipped the contras, but CIA personnel mined the harbors of Nicaragua, a terrorist act if ever there

Arsenal Besieged

For 3 hours beginning at 4 AM Monday morning, October 21st, 400 or so activists attempted to shut down the Rock Island Arsenal in Illinois by blocking workers trying to drive onto the island where it is located. The five-month organizing campaign by Project Disarm culminated in an action with 127 arrests. Many of these were people attempting to blockade the arsenal, but many others were arbitrarily arrested. Several people were beaten by police and pinned with trumped-up charges. Dozens more engaged in innovative mobile direct action and were not caught. The Arsenal wasn't shut down, but as one Quad-Cities TV news show put it, "it was anything but business as usual for the Arsenal today."

Rock Island Arsenal, the U.S. Army's largest, employs 9-10,000 civilians. 2,500 work on the production lines for howitzers that are supplied to the U.S. and to regimes including El Salva-

dor, South Africa and the Philippines. The rest work in administration and research for the U.S. Army's A.M.C.C.O.M. --Armaments, Munitions, and Chemical Command. AMCCOM, headquartered at Rock Island, is a far-flung command that oversees research, production and deployment of all Army weapons, including chemical and nuclear, putting it on the frontlines of U.S. preparations to fight and "win" World War 3. The production complex at Rock Island includes research and development of chemical and nuclear-capable howitzers and shells.

Arsenal workers must cross one of 3 bridges spanning the Mississippi River every workday morning. Because of overwhelming security forces on the bridges themselves, Project Disarm focussed its blockade on the city streets leading toward them.

At 6 AM in Davenport a women's group from Chicago drove two cars up to within 2 blocks of the bridge, jumped out and chained the cars together and to parking meters on either side of the street. They then chained themselves to the cars, and a crowd of supporters

Invest in the future of America.



AFTER MATH 1985

was one. And discarded down some memory hole hole is last year's (1984) CIA-published manual instructing the contras on 'Selective Use of Violence for Propagandistic Effects' and 'Implicit and Explicit Terror.'"

All of this is not to say that

leaders like Khadafy aren't dangerous, they are. But then aren't all heads of state? Isn't it true that all governments use either internal or external terror to advance their ideologies and to defend their "rights" to rule? By:

Ralph Franklin

gathered around to make arrests as difficult as possible. The blockade succeeded for up to 30 minutes as several other groups blockaded secondary routes and the crowd moved into and out of the street adding to the disruption.

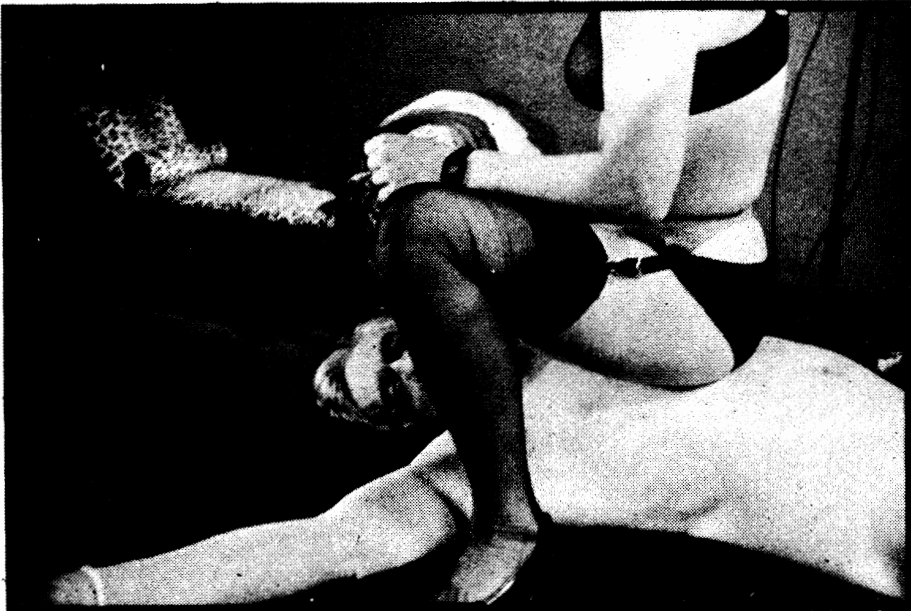
In Rock Island several mobile action groups carried out simultaneous blockades at pre-designated times on key arteries leading to the bridgehead. One of these blockades stopped traffic on a main approach for up to 10 minutes using about 20 railroad ties. One police car was immobilized by caltrops and paint on its windshield as it pursued mobile groups that were on foot. Rock Island Police Sgt. Anderson said, "Before the police's efforts even began Monday, they had to repair 14 punctured tires.... They (the demonstrators) would use guerilla-warfare type tactics where they would hit and run. It seemed like they were trying to lead our officers away from the main demonstration...On the bridge there were few problems, but the outlying radical groups caused numerous problems." The mobile groups kept moving and blockading for up to an hour and then coalesced into one large group which took over the street and marched toward the bridgehead, blocking traffic as they went. When met with a large police response, they dispersed. Only a few mobile blockaders were caught.

Tactical innovation pervaded the action. The timed mobile blockades demonstrated a level of coordination not often seen in the U.S. The women's action showed that a stationary blockade, with the participants submitting to arrest, can use materials and the element of surprise for maximum effectiveness. The Project Disarm guidelines include the use of "nonviolent bodily force" to free people from police, increasing

Continued on next page



International Anarchist News



Lizzie Borden's **WORKING GIRLS: Anarchofeminism?**

Working girls

Lizzie Borden's first feature film, *Born in Flames*, took her five years to make and was released in 1983; her next, *Working Girls*, comes out in March. *Born in Flames* was a strange mixture of radical political naivete and a punky, almost incoherent style. Meant to be a portrait of feminist insurrection in a post-revolutionary New York, it was more embarrassing than entertaining. Yet for a film shot on an \$30,000 budget in a ragged, on-the-run documentary format, it was still more interesting and provocative than most commercial fare. According to Susan Linfield writing in *The Village Voice*, "...it fused the political concepts of the European ultraleft (a critique of social democracy, a consideration of urban terrorism) with a quintessential New York sensibility--funky, punky, black, hip, and paranoid. Borden stuffed the film full of ideas about media manipulation, jail suicide, lesbian separatism, political sectarianism, and wages for housework--all to the beat of

Ibis, The Bloods, and Red Crayola."

Borden, 35, is a former painter and art critic who describes herself as an anarcho-feminist. Her new film, the sexually explicit *Working Girls*, will probably be as controversial as *Born in Flames*. It follows a day in the life of a middle-class, midtown, matter-of-fact prostitute (based on a woman Borden knows). *Working Girls* features actors associated with Mabou Mines and Ping Chong, and Borden promises that, like its predecessor, it's a "borderline feature."



Arsenal continued

the potential for resistance. And a principle in organizing is "no negotiations"--no legal permits and no giving information to authorities about plans for the action.

Project Disarm is a midwest regional effort which came together in 1984 to organize the first "shutdown" action on June 4th 1984. It is coordinated by Disarm Now Action Group of Chicago and members of the Quad-Cities War Resistance Community, a Catholic-based group. Participants (including anarchists) came from all over the midwest--Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Missouri, Indiana, and Ohio. Legal defense is underway. Contributions can be sent to: Project Disarm, c/o 407 S. Dearborn #370, Chicago, IL. 60605.

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The Badguy Report continued from page 7

If their kindred group The Blanks haven't finished recording their new material yet, that doesn't mean they can't come here to play for an ANARCHY benefit, does it? I plan to talk to both these groups as the Mayday anarchist gathering in Chicago. Meanwhile you can find out what these guys are all about. The Blanks, P.O.B. 1010, Birmingham, MI. 48012. The Layabouts/Non-Serviam Productions c/o Urbane Gorilla, P.O.B. 02455, Detroit, MI. 48202. When you think of all the excellent experimental and culturally subversive films that no one ever brings to town, it's hard to get too excited by the film series at Ms. Zoo this semester. Might as well check out the best of the lot. Movies listed are in Ellis Auditorium and (except where noted) start at 8 PM.

February:

24 Pather Panchali
27 Tokyo Story

March:

4 Singin' in the Rain (7 PM)
13 Au Hazard Balthezar
24 Dodes Ka-Den

April:

2 Signs of Life
7 Cries and Whispers
17 Hollywood on Trial (7 PM)
Force of Evil (8:40 PM)

Haymarket '86 An anarchist gathering

May 1986 is the hundredth anniversary of the Chicago Haymarket events of 1886 which sent repercussions throughout the world. (We'll publish an article on the 1886 Haymarket events in our April issue.) 1986 is also the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Spanish Revolution--a social revolution with an essentially anarchist character that was far more radical in its achievements than any other 20th century revolution.

In commemoration of these events, in response to their recuperation by non-radical groups, and as a step towards encouraging the growth of anarchist activities, the Impossible Books group will be hosting a worldwide anarchist gathering from April 30th through May 4th in Chicago. And so far, it looks to be the largest U.S. anarchist event in recent years, with hundreds of participants expected from across the continent.

Activities: 1) There will be several public demonstrations. Anarchists will march as part of the traditional Pilsen march on May Day evening. There will

be an anarchist march on May 2nd starting from the Haymarket and winding through downtown Chicago. And on May 4th anarchists will interact with the liberal-organized commemoration of Haymarket events which will no doubt attempt to rewrite history and distort the meaning of the 1886 events.

2) There will be a punk/rock concert on Friday night, May 2nd. An anarchist film festival is being planned. There will be a banquet May 3rd, and a display of anarchist art is being considered.

3) There will also be a series of workshops held each day, including workshops on National Liberation Movements, Food Politics/Animal Liberation, Spain '36/Haymarket '86, The Resurgence of Fascist Groups, and Worker's Control.

For more information contact Impossible Books, Box 102, 1200 W. Fullerton, Chicago, IL. 60614 or contact the Columbia Anarchist League, P.O.B. 380, Columbia, MO. 65205. Watch for more details in the April issue of ANARCHY.

FUCKALOT

There's a certain way to view the world, as enemy with flag unfurled
A combat zone where heathen spirit always must be fought
And the folks who see the world this way have made it what it is today
A hate-filled place and all because they never learned to say
You've got to -- laugh enough, if you want to stay alive
You've got to -- laugh a lot, if the world is to survive
Then you got to -- laugh some more, if you want your love to thrive
Last thing that you want to do is be like one of them

There's a certain kind of personality that looks at folks like you
And me and sees us dancing here and only wants to gag
These folks have nothing in their hearts, they're plagued by silent, stinkless farts
Their shit comes out in hard, round balls if it comes out at all
'Cause you've got to -- dance enough, if you want to stay alive
You've got to -- dance a lot, if the world is to survive
Then you got to -- dance some more, if you want your love to thrive
Last thing that you want to do is be like one of them

There's certain folks who look at life as one long test of self-control
They have to keep their lust in check, they have to curb their dogs
And when these folks get next to sex, it turns them into nervous wrecks
'Specially when their sons and daughters come to them and say
We've got to -- fuck enough, if we're gonna stay alive
We've got to -- fuck a lot, if the world is to survive
Then we got to -- fuck some more, if we want our love to thrive
Last thing that we want to do is end up just like you

Everywhere's the same today, they're in control, we're in the way
And in their hands each life-urge just gets turned upon it's head
They won't be satisfied until the Earth itself has died and then
They'll never be subjected to the threat of life again
So we've got to -- love enough, just to keep those folks at bay
And we've got to -- fight a lot, yeah, to make them change their ways
Then we got to -- love some more, 'cause it's still the only way
The last thing that we wanna do is give it up to them
We've got to -- love enough, just to keep those folks at bay
And we've got to -- fight a lot, just to make them go away
Then we've got to -- fuck some more, just to brighten up the day
Last thing that we wanna do is give it up to them
You've got to heal yourself... feel yourself... you must reveal yourself

Lyrics from The Layabouts new album, No Masters!

May:

1 Hail Mary
5 That Obscure Object of Desire
8 The Second Awakening of Christa
Klaus

Of these cinematic treats, there are three which hit me where I live. Tokyo Story by Yasujiro Ozu is a lulling sensitive simple tragedy. Dodes Ka-Den

by Kurosawa is an absurd look at life in a Japanese slum which I've gone back to see whenever I've had the chance. Finally there is Bergman's Cries and Whispers, a film which consciously employs the techniques suggested by the prophet of the theatre of cruelty, Antonin Artaud. This film is about emotional catharsis. Yours.

THE PAPALAGI

SPEECHES BY
TUIAVII OF TIAVEA
A SAMOAN CHIEF

Collected by Erich Scheurmann
Illustrations by Joost Swarte
Translated by Martin Beumer

Editor's note: The Papalagi (pronounced pä-pä-lä-hē, or so I was told by the original English publishers, Real Free Press in Amsterdam) is a collection of speeches written by the South Pacific chief Tuiavii of Tiavea and intended for his people. They first appeared in a German edition sometime in the early twenties, in a translation by his friend Eric Scheurmann. A translation was published in Dutch in 1929, from which the English translation was then made in 1971. As becomes quickly apparent when one reads it, *The Papalagi* is a sort of critical reverse anthropology in which white, European civilization is thoroughly dissected and evaluated with the puzzled contempt that it so well deserves from the "primitive" perspective.

INTRODUCTION

The writer called these speeches *The Papalagi*, which means the White Men or the Gentlemen. These speeches by Tuiavii or Tiavea were not delivered as yet, but the essence had been written down in his native language, out of which the first German translation was made.

Tuiavii never intended to have his speeches published for the Western public, nor to have them printed anywhere at all. They were strictly meant for his Polynesian people. Yet I have, without his consent and definitely in disregard of his wishes, taken the liberty to bring these speeches of a Polynesian native to the attention of the Western reader, convinced, that for us "white people" with our Western civilization it could be very worthwhile to find out how a man who is still closely bound to nature sees us and our culture.

Through his eyes we look and see ourselves from a standpoint we can never occupy again. Certainly there will be people, especially culture-freaks who will deem his point of view childish, perhaps even ignorant; but those of you who are more worldly-wise, and above all feel more humility, will be moved to reflection and self-criticism by much of what is going to be said. Because his wisdom is the fruit of simplicity, the greatest grace that God can bestow upon a man, showing him the things that science fails to comprehend.

These speeches were no less than a calling out to all the peoples of the South Pacific to cut off all their ties with the so-called enlightened people of European stock. Deep within, Tuiavii, the scorner of Europeans held the steadfast conviction that his forefathers had committed a grave error by letting themselves be enticed by European culture. He is like the maiden of Fagaasa who, seated high upon a cliff, saw the first white missionaries coming, and with her fan motioned them to leave: "Away with you, you criminal devils!" He also saw Europe as the dark demon, the big defoliator, from whom mankind should protect itself, if it wants to remain as pure as the Gods.

When I first met Tuiavii, he was living a peaceful life, secluded from the European world on his tiny, out-of-the-way island called Upolu, one of the Samoan islands, in the village of Tiavea of which he was chief. The first impression he made was of a big, kind-hearted giant. Almost 6 feet 2, and built like a brick outhouse. But his voice was soft and gentle as a woman's and his large, deepset eyes, overshadowed by bushy eyebrows had a slightly vacant stare. But when suddenly spoken to, they would light up and betray his warm and sunny heart.

In no outward manner was Tuiavii markedly different from his brothers. He drank his kava (a popular Samoan drink made from the roots of the kava plant), went to loto (a religious service) in the morning, ate bananas, toras, and yams and observed all native customs

and rituals. Only his few intimate friends knew what was brewing inside his head and what was struggling to come to the light, whenever he lay, dreaming it seemed, on his housemat.

In general the native lives like a child, purely in the visible world, without questioning either himself or his surroundings, but Tuiavii had an extraordinary character. He had risen high above his fellows, because he lived consciously and therefore possessed that inner drive that sets us apart from primitive peoples, more than anything else does.

Because of his being his own kind of man, Tuiavii had felt the wish arise to get to know more of that far-away Europe. That desire had been burning inside of him ever since his schooldays at the Marist's mission and was satisfied only when he had become a grown-up man. He joined a group of ethnologists who went back to Europe after their studies, and that way got to visit, one after the other, most of the states in Europe, where he became thoroughly acquainted with their culture and national peculiarities. Time and again I marvelled at the accuracy with which he remembered even the smallest detail. Tuiavii possessed to a high degree the gift of sober and unprejudiced observa-

"You fellows think that you can show us the light," he said to me when we were together for the last time, "but what you really do is try to drag us down into your pool of darkness"

tion. Nothing could dazzle him; he never let himself be steered away from the truth by words. In fact he saw everything in its own original form, though throughout all his studies he never could abandon his own standpoint.

Although I was a close neighbor of his for more than a year, being a member of his village-community, Tuiavii took me into his confidence only after we became friends. After he'd entirely overcome, even forgotten the European in me. When he had convinced himself that I was ripe for his simple wisdom and wouldn't laugh at him (something I never did), only then did he consider me worthy enough to listen to fragments of his writings. He read them aloud to me, without any pathos, as if it were a historical narration. Though for just this reason, what he was saying worked itself into my mind and gave

birth to the wish to retain the things I have heard.

Only much later did Tuiavii come to trust me with his notes and gave me permission to translate them into German. He thought I wanted to use them for my personal studies and never was to know that the translation as it were would be published. All these speeches are no more than rough drafts and together do not form a well-composed book. Tuiavii has never seen them in any other form. Only when he had all the material neatly filed away in his head and all the things standing out clearly, did he want to start his "mission" as he called it, among his fellow Polynesians. I had to leave the islands before he started out on his quest.

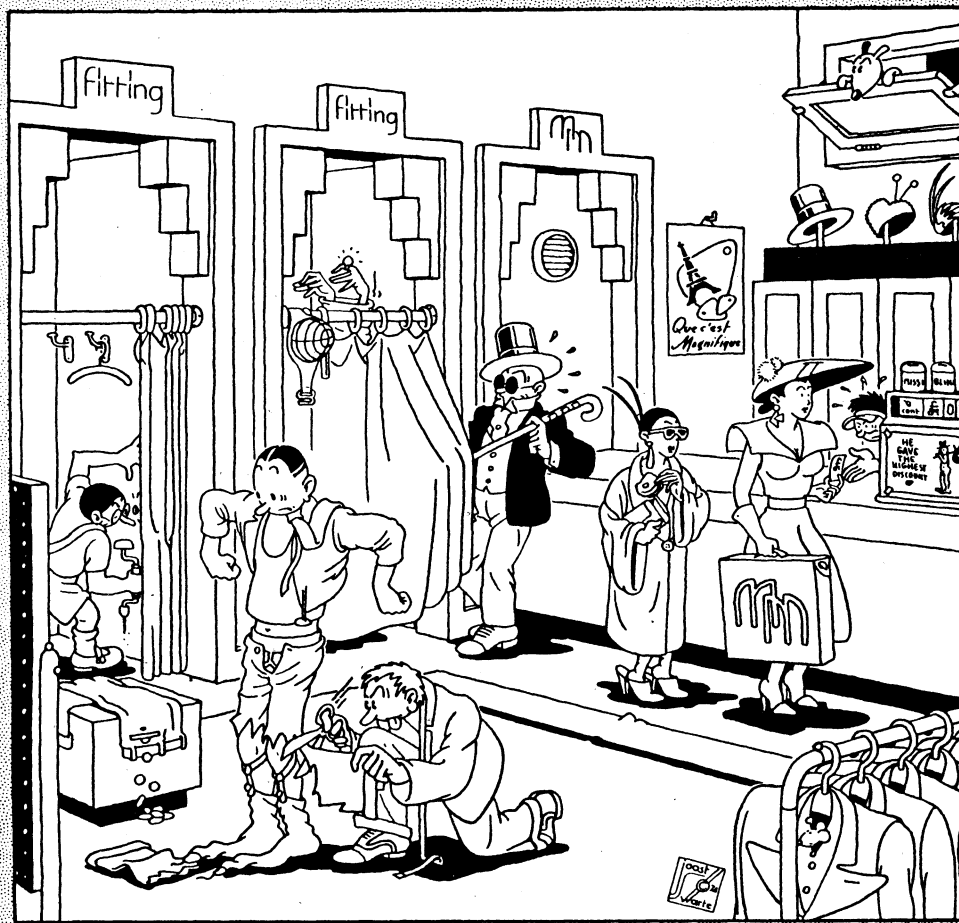
Though I've seen it as my duty to render as literal a translation as possible and have not altered a syllable in the composition of the speeches, I am aware that the directness, originality and uniqueness of his wording have suffered greatly. Anyone who has ever tried to bring something over from a primitive language into a modern one, will immediately recognize the problems involved in reproducing childlike utterances so as not to make them seem stupid or foolish.

He cannot come to understand where this supposed value of European culture resides, when it alienates people from themselves and makes them false, unnatural and depraved.

Tuiavii, the uncultivated island-dweller, regarded European culture as a deviation, a one-way road to nowhere. This might sound somewhat inflated but for the fact that it was all said with that wonderful simplicity that betrayed the weakness of his heart. It is true that he warns his countrymen and even tells them to shake off European domination. But in doing so, his voice is filled with sadness and everything indicates that his missionary zeal springs from his love of humanity and is not out of hatred. "You fellows think that you can show us the light," he said to me when we were together for the last time, "but what you really do is try to drag us down into your pool of darkness." He regarded the comings and goings of life with a child's honesty and love of the truth and so he encountered discrepancies and moral shortcomings and by storing them all in his memory, they became lessons for life to him. He cannot come to understand where this supposed value of European culture resides, when it alienates people from themselves and makes them false, unnatural and depraved. When he sums up what civilization has brought us, starting with our appearance, as he would do when describing an animal, calling everything by its appropriate name, a very un-European and irreverent attitude; then he's picturing us in a way that, however incomplete is not incorrect, so that we do not know who to laugh at: the painter or his model.

This childlike, openhearted approach to reality, along with his complete lack of reverence is where I believe the true value of Tuiavii's speeches to us Westerners resides; that's why I feel that their publication is justified. The world wars have made us Westerners skeptical towards ourselves, we also begin to wonder about the intrinsic value of things and start to doubt whether we can ever really achieve our highest ideals through our civilization. Therefore we shouldn't consider ourselves to be so civilized and come down from our spiritual level to the way of thinking of this Polynesian from the Samoan islands, who is not as yet burdened down with an overdose of education and who is still original in his feeling and thoughts, and who wants to make us feel that we killed the Godlike essence of our being and have replaced it with idols.

Erich Scheurmann



HOW THE PAPALAGI COVER THEIR FLESH OR THEIR NUMEROUS LOINCLOTHS AND MATS

The Papalagi is forever bending his mind to how to cover his flesh the best possible way. A white man, who carried much weight and was considered very wise, once told me, "the body and all the limbs are flesh, above the neck the real person begins." He felt that only the part of the body that houses the spirit and one's good and bad properties is worthy of our attention. Meaning the head of course. The head and sometimes the hands are left uncovered by the white people. Though the head as well as the hands are made out

of flesh. Those that show more of their flesh cannot claim perfect moral stature anymore.

When a young man takes a girl to be his wife, he can never be sure not to be disappointed, because before that occasion he never saw her body. (Even after becoming his wife she seldom shows herself and when she does, only at night or in the twilight--Tuiavii's note) Every girl covers her body, even if she has the figure of the most beautiful Taopou (May-queen), so that nobody can see and enjoy that splendid sight.

Continued on page 5

THE PAPALAGI

HOW THE PAPALAGI COVER THEIR FLESH OR THEIR NUMEROUS LOINCLOTHS AND MATS

Continued from page 4

The flesh is sin. That's what the Papalagi say, because for them only the spirit counts. The arm that's raised in the sunlight to hurl the spear...is an arrow of sin. The chest through which the waves of air roll, is a house where sin lives. The limbs with which the maiden presents the siva (native dance) are sinful. And certainly those parts of the body dedicated to making new people and to enjoy the world with, are full of sin! Everything that is considered flesh is a sin. There is a poison living inside every muscle, a treacherous venom that jumps from one person upon another. They who look at the flesh absorb the poison, are hurt by it and then become just as depraved as those that were showing it. That's what the holy morals of the white men tell us.

That's the reason for the body of the Papalagi to be entirely covered in loincloths, mats and animal hides, bound so tight that neither the human eye nor the rays of the sun are able to penetrate them, so tight that his body becomes a pale white and looks tired like a flower that grows in the dense wood under heavy trees.

Hear what heavy loads a single Papalagi carries on his body, you smarter brothers from the many islands! To begin with the naked body is wrapped in a thick white skin, made from the fibres of a plant and called the overskin. One throws it up into the air, then lets it glide down over the head, the chest and over the arms down to the hips. From down upwards, over legs and hips up to the belly-button, another of those overskins is pulled. Those two skins are covered by a third skin that's thicker. A skin woven from the wooly hairs of a four-legged animal, specially bred for that purpose. That is the loincloth itself. Usually it consists of three parts, of which the first part covers the upper body, the second part the middle section and the third part covers the hips and legs. All three parts are held together by shells (Tuiavii probably means buttons) and ropes made out of the dried sap of the rubber tree, so it looks like one single thing. Usually that loincloth has the greyness of the lagoon during the wet monsoon. It may never be entirely colored, at best the middle part, and then only by people that have a reputation and like chasing after the other sex.

Around the feet, finally, a soft skin as well as a tough one are tied. Usually the soft skin is elastic and molds itself nicely to the form of the foot, but the tough one doesn't do that at all. They are made out of thick animal hides that have been soaked in the water, have been scraped off with knives, and beaten and hung out in the sun so long that they have tanned and toughened. Using that, the Papalagi build a kind of canoe with high sides, just big enough for the foot to fit in. One canoe for the left foot and one for the right.

Those small footships are fastened around the ankles with ropes and hooks, so as to contain the feet inside a strong capsule like a snail in its house. The Papalagi wears those footskins from sunrise to sunset, he wears them on malaga (a voyage) and when he dances, he even wears them when it's as hot as before a tropical rainstorm.

As this is counter to nature, and something also the white man understands; and makes the feet worn out and look dead already and putrid, and because the feet of most of the Europeans lost the ability to grasp things or to climb trees, the Papalagi try to hide their shame by smearing the animal hide that originally looked red, with a kind of grease that makes them shine after extended rubbing. Shine so brightly that the eyes can hardly stand the glare and have to be turned away.

Everything that is considered flesh is a sin.... That's what the holy morals of the white men tell us.

In Europe once there lived a Papalagi who became famous and to whom many people came because he told them that it wasn't good to wear these tight and heavy skins around your feet; to walk barefoot under the open sky instead, while the dew of the night is still lying across the fields and all sickness will flee from you. That man was very wise and healthy but people laughed at him and he was soon forgotten.

Just like the man, the woman also wears many mats and loincloths tied around her body and ankles, so her skin is covered with scars and bruises. Her breasts have become flabby by the pressure from a mat they tie around the chest, from the neck down to the lower body and also around the back, with an extra strengthening of fishbones, iron wire and ropes. Most of the mothers give their children milk from a tube of glass that's closed on the underside and has an artificial nipple fastened to the upper part. And it's not even their own milk they are giving, but the milk of an ugly red animal with horns, forcefully taken away from her by pulling her four belly-nipples.

It's common however for the loincloths of the females to be thinner than those of the males and more colorful and attractive. Also sometimes the flesh of the arms and the neck is allowed to peek out, thereby showing more flesh than the males. But it is still considered virtuous, when a girl keeps herself completely covered and then people say: she is chaste, which means that she obeys the rules of decent behaviour.

That is why I never understood why women and girls are allowed to show the flesh of their backs and throats at the big fono (festivities) without it becoming a disgrace. But perhaps therein lies the big attraction of the feast, that the things which were forbidden all the time are now allowed.

The men always keep their chests and throats covered completely. From their throats on down to their breast glands, the alii (gentlemen) wear a chalkstiffened loincloth the size of a taro leaf. On top of that rests a white ring also stiffened with chalk and wound around the neck. Through that ring he draws a piece of colored cloth, plaited like the rope of a boat; it is pierced with a golden needle or a pearl and it hangs down the white shield. Many Papalagi also wear chalked rings around their wrists, but never around their ankles.

That white shield and those white rings are very important. A Papalagi would never enter the presence of a woman without these neck-ornaments! If that ring has become grimy and won't shine, that is even worse. The highborn alii change their breastshield and chalking every day for that reason.

Meanwhile, the woman has many colored cloths, often filling a score of upright standing crates, and most of her thoughts are dedicated to the choice of what loincloth to wear and when. Whether she must wear a long or a short one, and she talks passionately about the jewelry that is supposed to go with it, while the man has only one party-cloth and only rarely talks about that. That is the so called bird-clothing; a deep-black loincloth, tapering to a point in the back like the tail of a parrot in the jungle. With this ceremonial costume, the hands also have to be covered with white skins, skins that have to be pulled over the fingers and are so tight that it makes the blood glow and creep into the heart. Knowledgeable men are therefore permitted to carry them in one hand or stick them in the loincloth close to the breast-gland.

When a man or a woman leave their hut and step out into the street, they wrap themselves in another, very wide cloth, that can be thick or thin depending on the available sunshine. Then they cover their heads also; the men with a stiff, black drinking-bowl that's round and hollow like the roofs of our Samoan huts. The women wear big wickerworks of bark or inverted baskets to which they attach flowers that never wither, feathers, strips of cloth, beads and other kinds of jewelry. These headcoverings look very much like the tuiga (head-dress) of a toapou, except that those are much more beautiful and don't fall off during a storm or while dancing. Upon meeting with somebody, the men wave their little head-huts, while the women only nod their loaded heads very slowly, like a boat that's badly loaded.

Only at night, when the

Papalagi goes to bed, does he throw off all his loincloths, only to replace them immediately with another one that opens up on the underside and leaves the feet bare. At night, women and girls usually wear a cloth that has rich embroidery at the neck, although they rarely show themselves in wearing it. As soon as the Papalagi lies on his mat, he covers himself to the neck with the belly-feathers of a big bird, held together by a large piece of cloth to keep them from flying off. Those feathers make the body sweat and contribute to the Papalagi's belief that he is lying in the sun, even when it's not shining at all. Because for the real sun they have very little interest.

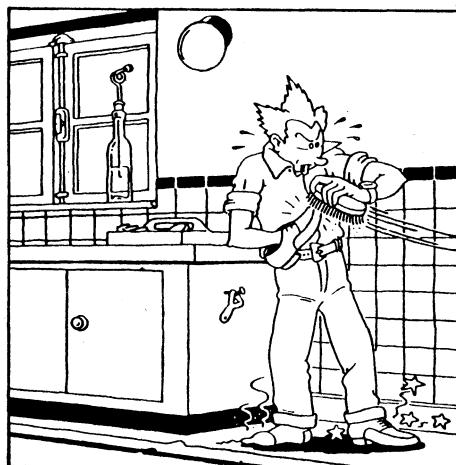
It is easily understood that by doing all this, the Papalagi's body turns a pale white, lacking the glow of joy. But that's what the white man really likes. Especially the girls are forever on the alert to protect their skin from the big light that might burn it red. As soon as they go out into the sun, they hold a big awning over their head. As if the paleness of the moon is prettier than the color of the sun! The Papalagi prefer doing things their way and are forever busy drawing up laws to back their points of view. Because their noses happen to be as pointy as the teeth of the shark, it does not necessarily mean they are more beautiful than our noses, that happen to be rounded and smooth. Are they supposed to be ugly when we feel different about that?

The white man, who has to cover himself up so much in order to hide his shame is foolish, blinded and without feeling for the true pleasures of life.

Because the bodies of the women and girls are always covered up, inside the men the profound wish always lives to see their flesh. Something one can very well imagine. They have that on their mind day and night, and they talk a lot about the female body in a way you would think such a beautiful and natural thing is just a sin and must be hidden in the darkness. If only they would start showing that flesh, then they could focus their attention on other things and stop their eyes from leering and stop their mouths from whispering dirty words when passing a girl.

But that the flesh is supposed to be sin, an aitu (evil spirit, devil), my friends can you imagine greater folly? If we would have to believe the white man, we would have to share his wish that our flesh would become hard as congealed lava, without that beneficial warmth that springs from inside. We however, we want to go on enjoying ourselves, go on communicating through our bodies with the sun, retain the ability to run like wild horses, because we are unhampered by loincloths and we have no leather foot-protection to drag down our feet, and we don't worry about the covering falling from our heads. Let's enjoy the sight a maiden offers, slender of body, and limbs flashing in the sunshine as well as under the moon. The white man, who has to cover himself up so much in order to hide his shame is foolish, blinded and without feeling for the true pleasures of life.

The Papalagi continues in our next issue with "Stone crates, stone islands, fissures and the things in between."





Letters

We would like to encourage readers to write us in order to open a dialogue both with those who are sympathetic and those who are critical of anarchist theory and practice. All letters to ANARCHY will be printed with the author's initials unless it is specifically stated that her/his full name may be used, or that s/he wishes to remain anonymous. We will try to print every letter that we receive for publication, as long as they are not redundant, overly long, or unreadable. Address your letters to ANARCHY, c/o Columbia Anarchist League, P.O.B. 380, Columbia, MO. 65205.

Good luck!

Dear C.A.L.:

Really enjoyed ish no. 9 & am glad you're coming out as frequently as you are. Enclosed is 50 bucks to help out a little. Good Luck!

For anarchy,
A.M., Farmingdale, N.J.

Editor's note: Readers take heed! Imitators welcome!

Prison porn

Dear friends,

Thanks so much for the back issues of *Anarchy*, which I received without much problem. In the past I have encountered attempted censorship by the prison authorities with respect to other publications. A court action reduced their level of harassment to simply delaying the delivery of certain publications. This action was ostensibly to allow for a determination by higher authorities as to whether the questioned material presented a threat to the security of the institution. The whole thing is quite farcical, since I have encountered little difficulty with anarchist publications, but have encountered severe opposition toward the receipt of the political garbage that a variety of marxist/leninist/communist/socialist organizations publish.

A good example of the mentality of the prison bureaucrat is their banning of an edition of *Hustler* which allegedly depicted a female prison guard engaged in sex with prisoners. That issue was prohibited, without exception. Yet, at the same time, all manner of material in which every imaginable form of violent sex is portrayed is allowed to freely circulate, titillating the sexual fantasies of prisoners, many of whom are presently incarcerated for horrendous sexual crimes. If, as now suspected, there does exist some connection between such material and the commission of forcible, violent sexual conduct, is not the state guilty of feeding the warped psyches of those already proven to engage in such activity?

Of course, I am definitely against censorship of any form as an abridgement of personal freedom; but is it censorship to restrict the circulation of

material which may encourage certain individuals to violate the rights of others? Undoubtedly this is a question in several variations which anarchists, particularly in this country, have long agonized over without finding any clear-cut answer. Unfortunately for all of us, the society in which we presently live is extremely sexist and, as a result, it engenders the type of individual who sexually preys upon others, quite possibly believing their conduct is permissible and certainly believing it is within their right to gratify their sexual desires howsoever they choose. So long as this system of brainwashing from the cradle exists, can there ever truly be any real answer for any of us?

I have only begun to read the issues you sent, wanting to let you know immediately that I had received them. At first glance, however, I am impressed; and although much of your material is locally-oriented, it serves to satisfy my hunger to learn how anarchists, wherever they may live, are attempting to put their beliefs into practice. Previously, Circle A of Atlanta had been my only indication that anarchist publications do exist which are not almost exclusively bogged down in defining theoretical mishmash of the past, glorifying anarchists of history rather than addressing the world in which we now live. I look forward to receiving future issues of *Anarchy*, and welcome the opportunity to contribute my own thoughts vis-a-vis the arti-

cles and opinions published.

Freedom for one means freedom for all,
L.T., Norco, CA.

Julian Noa responds

Thanks for your letter. We are certainly in agreement that violence against women and sexist stereotyping are major social problems which are extremely difficult to address. Nothing I can imagine could contribute more to sexual violence than locking men up in prison. The anger that leads men to be sexually violent can only be exacerbated by being dehumanized and isolated in this way. It is no wonder that violent sexual material is popular there. However, if we consider why these men are so fucking mad in the first place, it should be obvious that the censorship of violent pornography is not going to help.

In a future issue of ANARCHY I will begin exploring how we can move from a culture which fears intimacy, tenderness and lust in its daily routine living to a culture which exalts in the erotic. The sad thing about anti-porn rhetoric and activity is that, while picking one negative by-product of sexual repression, it tends to give the impression that if we could only get rid of skin mags, liberation will follow. What I want is a life so full of nurturance and eros, that the whole idea of plunking down six bucks to jerk off to strippers or fuck flicks will seem ridicu-

The following exchange appeared in the Action Line column of the COLUMBIA DAILY TRIBUNE on Tuesday, January 21, 1986.

ACTION LINE

BY BETSY KRAUSE

PHONE: 442-1405

Q. Last night, my husband found some trash in our yard called ANARCHY; a journal of desire armed. We do not appreciate this at all and want it stopped. It is one thing to be an anarchist, but this paper is full of filth with pornographic comics and ads with filthy words. I wonder where this comes from. The address in it is a box number in Columbia. Obviously, these people

have a definite problem. If they think the United States is so bad, I think they should get the heck out and go live in Libya. We don't want them here anyway.

A. "We won't go into her yard if she sends us her address," said one of the journal's columnists, who calls himself Badguy. He said to send your address, in care of the Columbia Anarchist League, P.O.Box 380, Columbia, MO. 65205.

In response to your accusation that "these people have a definite problem," he said: "There's violence and oppression by governments all over the world." He called it domination of people by other people. "Even the Libyan government is a problem."

Of living in the United States, Badguy said: "This is a beautiful town and country, and I love living here....If getting a paper in her yard makes her want to leave, she can move. If she doesn't like freedom of the press and freedom of ideas, I suggest she move someplace where this isn't allowed."

lous. Instead of censoring phony, lying sexual glamor mags, let's create more and more space where it is obsolete.

Lawn irritation

Dear anarchist:

Your practice of arbitrarily throwing ANARCHY; a journal of desire armed onto community lawns has irritated some of our readers. Your point of view, however, deserves to be heard.

As Action Line reporter, I'd like to give you a chance to respond to the letter (I've enclosed a copy of it for you).

If you need to remain anonymous, we can work something out. I understand that this might be necessary; I remember when the Feds paid a visit to...the maggot.

I can best be reached... during business hours. Please get in touch with me.

Sincerely,
B.K., Columbia, MO.

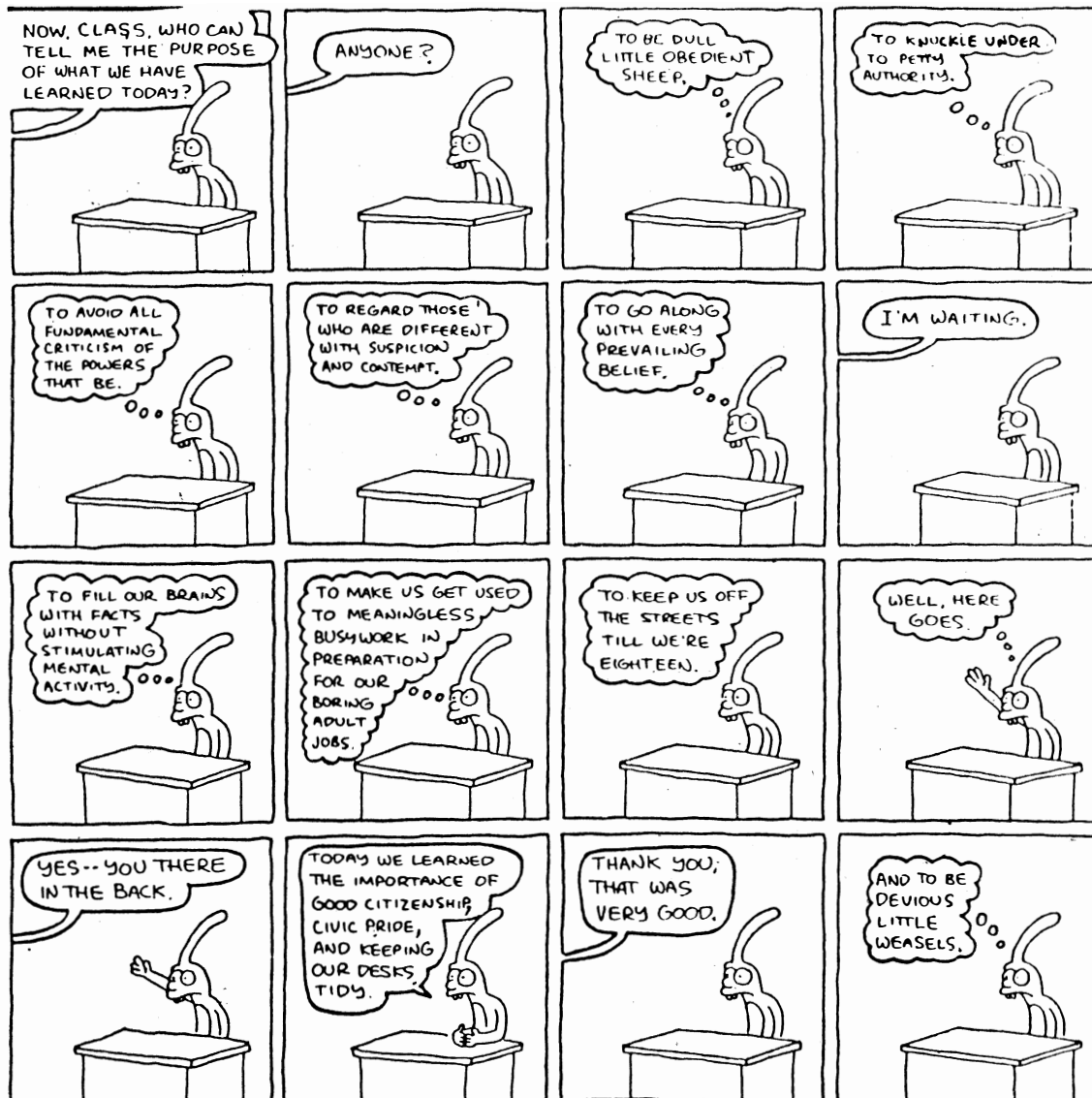
Mangled fragment

To Diane Dekay:

Although I appreciated your discussion about female sexuality and agree on the necessity to not restrict freely chosen behavior, I was a bit taken aback that you so mangled the fragment you chose from my response to a defender of *Hustler* magazine. The way it was presented, it did not deserve quotation marks as you omitted two key phrases within the sentence without giving any indication. I think had you included the entire sentence, it would have conveyed the meaning I intended, not what was made of it.

Perhaps you might consider printing the whole exchange as it appeared in a recent *Fifth Estate* and let it be shown that I never advocated the suppression of pornography. Rather, it was a consideration of the coercion of wages upon women in terms of what job "choices" were available to them, particularly poor and working class women. Also, I don't describe myself as either an anarchist or a feminist, thank you.

One further note: I think we should all get turned on by what does the trick, but you seem to be able to be deluded in the same way men are when they engage the services of sexual workers. You and they seem to believe the emotions they display while working are genuine. The dancer you saw staring at you could have as easily been thinking about how her feet hurt or that she still



from LOVE IS HELL by Matt Groening, P.O. Box 36E64, Los Angeles, CA 90036, \$6.95 + \$2 postage & handling

Letters continued

had to do the laundry when she got home. Most wage workers are courteous to customers; it's part of the job.

For solidarity and debate among comrades, E.B. Maple, Detroit, MI.

The following is an excerpt from the exchange on pornography in THE FIFTH ESTATE cited above by E.B. Maple.

"E.B. Maple responds: To me, the massive proliferation of pornography produced by a \$7 billion a year industry speaks more eloquently to the sexual misery prevalent in this society than any text possibly could.

Rather than relieve the desire for a full sexual life, pornography makes its denial that much more excruciating by manipulating our longings into paying for unbelievable fantasy. Worse, these fantastic images of exaggerated standards of beauty with their emphasis on youth, unrealistic sexual expectations and performance, and a generally distorted view of human relations only serve to push us that much farther from a genuine fulfillment. Instead, they serve to move us closer only to the commodities the magazines peddle as substitutes for real sexual joy.

The problem with pornography is that it never delivers what it promises and can give rise to a rage against women and a self-hatred that is easily sublimated into the consumption of commodities which represent sexuality. To be sure, this male rage emanates from many other sources in this culture, but let's not fool ourselves about the content of most pornography. It, along with the family, constitutes the last remaining arena of male domination over women and children and much of its attraction is gained from this presentation.

I think it takes a considerable process of self-deception for someone who opposes all forms of domination to fail to see that the poses portrayed in all of the skin magazines are based on the humiliation of the models: a display of the genitals for the observing male. No woman with a sense of dignity holds open the lips of her vagina for inspection by male strangers other than when compelled to do so by wages. (Underlining indicates the full sentence that was partially quoted in Diane Dekay's article in ANARCHY #7.)

Diane Dekay responds

Though I do not believe I did, my intention was not to alter or disfigure what you wrote. I still find what you said angering because it reinforces the same age-old bullshit: Nice girls hide their sexual

feelings/ nice girls just do it with men they LOVE/ nice girls don't show it off to strangers. The article was a personal reaction to a world where owning one's sexuality is foreign and dangerous. By intention, rather than naivete, the article had nothing to do with pornography as an industry.

(Editor's note: Diane will have more to say about this subject in future issues.)

Socialism revisited

Hello,

I guess I'm responding to your response to my letter on socialism and anarchy in ANARCHY #8.

Your absolute rejection of electoral politics is just dogma—you are being no better than the "Marxists." There are instances where electoral politics can definitely help the anarchist cause and I will try to show you and your readers a few examples.

You are generalizing way too much when it comes to Socialists here in America. I don't know a single "state socialist." There is no such thing. I see absolutely no difference in the thoughts of the self-proclaimed socialists I know and the self-proclaimed anarchists I know. To me it's all the same direction and I'll work with anyone on the Left. Contrary to your reply to my last letter, "socialists" are not fans of government. I am familiar with several Socialist Parties and party members and they all seek to dismantle the government. How can socialism be anything but libertarian? Even Marx, the "scientific socialist" and supposed defender of the State declared "The existence of the State is inseparable with the existence of slavery." The State is an instrument of capitalism and the whole of the culture based on industrialism (that is finally beginning to decay). How can there be government in a classless society? In my opinion, socialism will always represent the emancipation of labor, the abolition of wage labor, and freedom from all forms of control. The Socialist Party here in Des Moines does seek to empower people and we do help community and workplace organizations!!!! We work with grassroots groups that feed the poor, shelter the homeless, help the elderly, promote peace, promote decentralized energy (solar), etc. I don't see thousands of anarchists flocking to the inner city of Des Moines to take on the responsibility of government. But I do see some people doing this and I see the Socialist Party supporting them in full. It is all a matter of transition and helping that transition. We emphasize "people to people" groups and work within the government (when we can) to promote community action. Your generalizations of Socialists in America are utterly false.

The Badguy Report

There's three new releases by Crass Records that I want to get when I can get the \$ together: 1) **Inspiration Gave Them Motivation to Move Out of Isolation** by D & V, a group that has just a drummer and a vocalist. But this LP has Eve Libertine, Joy de Vivre and Penny Rimbaud doing backing and production; 2) **KUKL's second LP, Holidays in Europe**. I love KUKL's first record **The Eye**—especially their song "Dis-membered." I always figured they were witches, though it turns out it might just be that they're from Iceland; 3) **Blame the Men in Black** is a 2 LP compilation of all singles released by Crass (the band) and previously unreleased songs too. ..Robert Christgau of the **Village Voice** has chosen an album by the British anarchist band, The Mekons, as a pick hit. It's on the Sin label, **Fear and Whiskey** is "a sort of concept album about life during wartime." Since I'm too broke to buy any of the above, I'm writing **Rough Trade** in hopes they might donate copies to KOPN. If they come through, you'll be able to hear these on my show sometime in March. The punk radio schedule on KOPN is as follows: Saturday midnight 'til 2:30 a.m. is my show, **Sleepless Frenzy**; at 2:30 **Maximum Rock N' Roll** (part one); 3 a.m.-5:30 a.m. is **Subliminal Nightmare**; and at 5:30 is part 2 of **Maximum Rock N' Roll**...I want to say thanks to all the people who subscribed to KOPN during my show during the fundraising drive. We had more people subscribe than ever before in four years of SF history.

The spring 1986 **Open Road** reports that Julie Belmas has ratted on her former allies

We must all work together and I will never say "I'll never vote cos I'm an anarchist." That is close-minded, in my opinion.

Another good example of electoral politics doing some good is in West Germany with the Green Party. The Green Party is based on four major principles—Ecology, responsibility, grassroots democracy, and Non-violence. They work on both levels—like I spoke of in my last letter. They are empowering communities and working in the Bundestag in the electoral arena. Even in the U.S. a Green politician has been elected as a Commissioner and he ran as an advocate of decentralization of power, renewable energy, environmental quality, etc.! For those of you familiar with Rudolf Bahro and the Greens, how many of you would not vote for them given the chance? Let's be realistic!

I do still believe that "Whoever you vote for, Government wins." This is true. But all I'm saying is to be reasonable and not reject genuine progressive action just cos it'll be advanced by the ballot box.

Yours for (believe it or not) anarchy!
T.M., Des Moines, IA.
P.S. Thanx a lot for all the info and the copies of your fine magazine.

Lev Chernyi responds

Once again I'm afraid I'll have to quite strongly disagree with you on a number of points. Unfortunately we don't have enough room in this issue for me to do justice to all the points you raise, but let me respond briefly to a few of them.

First, if you'll reread my

of the Vancouver Five, making the situation more precarious for the other four who are in prison. They are still struggling in the courts and need money. Free the Five Defense Group, PO Box 48296, Bentall Station, Vancouver, B.C. Canada V7X1A1 ...If you don't know much about this case, pick up an **Open Road** at the **Columbia Community Grocery** for details.

Two corrections from the last issue of **Anarchy**. The guy who did the strip on the back page of our last issue is named **Rowf** not **Ralph**. Also the guy who is President of Guatemala is **Vinicia Cerezo Arevalo**, which is who is referred to by the name **Cerezo** at the bottom of the last column of "The Plague."

More on the death of D. Boon of **The Minutemen**. Boon and a woman who was his pal drove to Arizona to visit her relatives. On December 22, they were riding down an Arizona highway and as Boon slept in the rear of the van, the axle broke, and the van swerved off the highway. His companion was hurt badly. Dennis Dale Boon broke his neck.

Two new publications have appeared in local high schools, and in other corridors of mind control. **Smash Your School!**, an anarchist newsletter for students, features a list of "things to demand from your school system." The creator of this thing isn't advertising her address, but if yer in high school and haven't gotten a copy yet, go ask one of your class anarchists to get you one....The 2nd is **Death by Insanity**, a pocket zine, is crammed full of record reviews, reports on local shows, and smartass mischief. Send a stamped addressed envelope

response to your original letter, you'll note that I in fact do not advocate the "absolute rejection of electoral politics" that you attribute to me. As I said then, "Anarchists seek to help people empower themselves directly and without any fixed, official or professional leadership. Such a goal is necessarily in conflict with MOST uses of electoral politics." (I didn't say "ALL" uses!) But I can agree with you that for some anarchists the rejection of voting is at times based more on dogmatic than on rational criteria. Though at the same time I'd contend that there are precious few instances when anarchists would be rationally justified in voting—and the possible election of Socialist Party or Green Party representatives would not be likely to qualify!

Your conception of socialism seems to be limited pretty much to those socialists you're associated with in Des Moines. Otherwise you'd know that the dominant worldwide trends in "socialist" theory and organization are FAR from being anti-state. There are several misconceptions involved here. When I speak of "state socialists", I'm not necessarily speaking of people who CALL themselves such—it's not exactly an endearing label after all. Rather, it is essential that we all make distinctions between (1) what people label themselves as, (2) the different meanings such labels can and do have, and (3) what these people ACTUALLY DO as opposed to what they SAY they want to do. You appear to be confusing your own interpretation of socialism with what other people mean by the term—and in fact, most people use it in the historically developed senses promoted by social-democrats and Marxist-Leninists.

to 1405 W. Blvd S., Columbia, MO 65203 for a copy.

The Columbia nightspots haven't even been trying to get any punk bands lately. **First Bank of Christ** did play at a birthday party for Wren, Kathy Kat and Toby, broadcast live on **Sleepless Frenzy**. But there are lots of excellent punk bands who've never been to this town: cause they don't have contacts and the local tavern owners can not stand punk music. What we need to do is to pick our favorite band and write to them about coming here. Then when we get some idea of when they might be available, we can pool enough money to rent a hall and a sound system or get a local bar to make space so that those under 21 can come, but not be served alcohol. If every crybaby who whines about the lack of shows would get a hold of one band, there'd soon be some good alienation revivals around here. I already picked my band, it's **Frightwig**, and I want them bad!

The local venues should be seeking out local bands like **First Bank of Christ** and **Evil Jeziz** too. **First bank** keeps getting better. Look for **Evil Jeziz** to be playing somewhere in early spring...Ann Wood and Stuart did an impromptu show at the **Chez** on February 6th but I missed it. Let's hope it's not too long before we hear of more rustles from these artos. Instead of trekking to KC all the time, let's create new unheard-of alarms to normal life. (An' not just gigs!)

If **The Layabouts** aren't Detroit's most alarming outfit, their new album, **No Masters**, is barbaric radical fun.

Continued on page 3

in their 57 varieties. And for both social democracy and Marxism-Leninism (whatever they might SAY about it), socialism ALMOST INVARIABLY means the acquisition of state power and centralized concentration of economic, political and other institutional power, notwithstanding any empty rhetoric about "decentralization," "empowerment of communities," or "libertarian socialism."

The socialists you seem to be speaking of (e.g. Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Party, U.S.A., etc.) are part of a confused and confusing milieu poised halfway between state socialists on the one hand and anarchists on the other. Like the Green Party in Germany, they embody two contradictory tendencies and will probably end up lining up with the state socialists when push comes to shove. They have failed to complete a critique of ALL forms of domination and alienation, and thus lack an understanding of the processes of ideological mystification, partial opposition, and recuperation (see AS WE SEE IT! in this issue). Once you begin to understand these processes it becomes meaningless to "work with anyone on the Left," since "the Left" is usually a good part of our problem, busy as it is trying to shore up the crumbling institutions of hierarchical domination.

Whatever else I disagree with, I don't find anything wrong with your attempt to interpret socialism in a libertarian fashion—just your failure to understand that almost nowhere is the concept of socialism understood in a similar way. As you say, "How can there be government in a classless society?" If only every other "socialist" was as perceptive!

If it's humiliating to be ruled, how much more degrading is it to choose our masters?



THIS IS APARTHEID

Thursday's Children, P.O.B. 4892, Berkeley, CA. 94704

storybox

by jai

"Why are you wearing a dress ...?" they always asked him as if there was some explanation which would satisfy them....hay had but no politics to analyze or woo them with. he only asked the earth to take his innocence for granted...in the same way in which he stood bashful and in awe before his own reflection as if he were meeting a new and wondrous personage. he simply said, "i shall cease wearing it."

and though it was all he ever wore, he did not always wear it. in the woods you can still find the spot where his body was slowly lowered into the soft earth with such care and non-deliberation that all the elements comfortably rearranged themselves. the worms tried out his surfaces on their way to more porous regions. he breathed so slowly that even if he had been wearing his dress he would not have moved it. he was dreaming of the gentleness that would go on forever and well up inside him so irresistibly...but that comes later. for even as he was cradled in this future, he was present-conscious of the mindless

feast he was offering to the insects....he breathed as if the insects sensed how willful he was being. "what a feast of flesh and blood for these tiny companions." and for days following his body was swollen with memories of the pleasure he had bestowed on those countless creatures whose only thanks were to go about their business.

hay had no business. but he went about nonetheless.

after deborah went cray zee because everyone but hay thought she was got..., hay realized what got her. he said to himself "she's got something there!" but he did not know where she had it.... and he loved her so much, that he could only emulate her by being more of himself than he had ever dared to before.

they screamed at him because he could not listen to them. to listen to them, to really listen to them, would be the same for hay as walking around with a sony walkman on all the time. there were too many things

to hear to listen to one thing at a time. at a time like this when the whole world it seemed wanted to undress him, he told them, "i would not make a very good martyr ...i am too hard to remember" but they never remembered what he said.

he was hit by a water balloon thrown from a passing car. it hurt and he could not think where it was coming from. people scurried away from him, but it was hard for him to imagine that they knew where they were going to. they even tried being reasonable, but he could not think of a reason for them to do so. punching him out and teasing him out. but he slept without them when they raced through his dreams no lasting impression could be summoned.

he wore his dress but he refused to let it control him the way it seemed to control them....all their hostility made it easier to see how he didn't want to be.... hay, the girlboy, was only sure of that, but it was plenty. he was a little guy, after all.....

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AS WE SEE IT!

Winter 1985/86

Common Perspectives on Ourselves, Our World and Social Change

Columbia, Missouri

-columbia anarchist league

This statement is a provisional draft of Columbia Anarchist League positions adopted largely in the spring of 1985. It is not meant to be a finished or unalterable statement, but it is a good reflection of our minimal common perspectives at this time. Critical comments are welcome and will be taken under consideration for future versions of this statement.

1 Throughout the world the vast majority of people have no control over the most basic social, economic and political decisions which profoundly and directly affect their lives. We are forced to live, work and die according to the dictates of hierarchical organizations-- from schools, corporations and unions, to their culmination in the nation-state. We are indoctrinated in government-run and religious schools. We are forced to sell our lives and labour in capitalist economies, while those who own and control the means of production not only profit from our toil,

but determine the shape and disposition of ever larger areas of both the social and natural worlds. And we are regimented, taxed, and cowed by integrated systems of local, regional and national governments. They not only make laws regulating our work, culture and social intercourse, but maintain vast propaganda apparatuses, police forces, prison systems, armies, surveillance networks, and to ensure our compliance, even torture centers and death squads when necessary.



2 The hierarchical and alienating organization of social life imposed upon us by these dominant institutions creates continual crises in every person's life, and in every realm of human activity. These crises often appear most intensely in the realm of production--in which most of us must each day sell large portions of our lives for a wage that can never possibly repay us for what is in turn taken from us. We are forced to labor under a system which

allows us neither control of the content of our work, nor its conditions, its organization, or its purpose and meaning. And we do all this in exchange for the "privilege" of buying a few mass-produced commodities and standardized "services" that will always remain empty and unsatisfying substitutes for the rich and joyful lives we all in actuality desire. In fact, nearly every facet of life in modern society has by now been colonized by hierarchy and alienation--family life, sexuality, education, culture, knowledge, communication, health care, transportation, etc. Everywhere the dominant social institutions impose on people an organization of their daily lives that is external to them. Everything is organized for ulterior purposes, without the participation of those most directly concerned, and usually against people's actual values, aspirations, and interests. As a result of this, it isn't very surprising that people experience many aspects of their lives and bodies as being unreal, alien to them, or as being subject to irresistible

forces of mystifying origins.



3 The poverty, the meaninglessness and the alienation of everyday life in the modern world are not accidental by-products of an otherwise sound social system. They are the inevitable and primary products of a system which at its core is not only disastrously counter-productive, but in its present nuclear phase is increasingly suicidal. This system consists of a relatively coherent structure of self-reinforcing social relations of compulsion, hierarchical authority, and commodity exchange whose common basis can possibly be most easily understood using the concept of "alienation." The word "alienation" denotes the process by which people's acts can become estranged--and no longer appear or be felt as their own. The institution of human slavery for example involves an obvious process of alienation of the slave's life-activity. When originally free people were first captured by slaveholding societies, it was necessary to **forcibly** enslave them since they naturally realized that the work, deference and passivity required of them was absolutely alien to their own desires and will. The unity of their desires, will and activity was completely broken, but they could easily feel and understand this alienation because of (and also resulting in) the necessity of its imposition by force. However, once their slavery had been forced for a certain time, they would consciously develop habits of self-repression to avoid being punished for forgetting the role they were required to play. They would adapt to the expectations of the slaveholders by **learning how** to be slaves and thinking of themselves as slaves, albeit reluctant ones. And finally, many of them would over time (and especially with the passing of generations) come to really see themselves as slaves, to believe that slavery was a natural institution, and that it was their natural place to be slaves. Their habits of self-repression would become so



NO Ideology NO State

internalized and unconscious that they would forget they were originally only habits. They became slaves in fact, and if the opportunity would come for them to escape they would no longer even be able to see the opportunity because they would no longer realize that somewhere deep inside they wanted to escape. Their alienation was so complete that they could no longer feel their desires as their own, or exercise their will outside of a sharply circumscribed area of their lives. The process of alienation involved in the institution of slavery is analogous to the process of "socialization" through which we all learn our "natural" places within contemporary institutions of the nuclear family, compulsory (mis)education, wage-slavery, representative "democracy," etc.

come more and more rigidly determined by the logic of organizational reproduction and expansion to which they too must submit.



Ironically, it is people's own alienated gestures and labor-activity that make up the actual substance of the institutions which in turn oppress them. And the same process of alienation takes place not only in the realm of production, but also in every other sphere of social activity. This results in an entire social world that always appears to be out of anyone's control, moving inexorably along its own mystifying path according to its own hierarchical and alien logic. Thus the economy is said to regulate itself by the influence of an "invisible hand" through which we become the victims of depressions, inflation, unemployment, etc. And in the political sphere the organs of local, regional, and national government exhibit similar tendencies. The political parties become more and more the same, while none are ever capable of controlling the crises which prompt their election, or their coups d'etat. All governments are forced to submit to the alien logic of the same international system. East and west, the results are basically the same though the means be different. And in all the other spheres of life that have become dominated by hierarchical forms of organization the individual is subjected to the same processes since by definition all hierarchical organization involves compulsion, and compulsion always requires that the individual alienate his/her own activity, in order to fit him/herself into the roles required. Ultimately, the more our lives are devoted to performing all the alienating roles of hierarchical commodity society, the less we are able to live--the less our lives are in any sense really our own.



People are never merely the passive victims of an externally imposed repression and manipula-

tion. Through our "socialization" (our "social conditioning") into this society, we have each learned to participate to different degrees in our own self-repression and self-manipulation. Our conformity is enforced, not only by the bosses' orders and the policeman's gun, but by the internalized boss and policeman of our own behavior that each of us carries within us, and which we call "character." Character is the form taken by alienation in the individual. It is like a layer of deadened psychic scar tissue or an armoring which each of us has been forced to develop in order to cope with a hierarchical and alienating society. By developing this unconscious layer of armoring (this habitual layer of compulsive self-repression) we protect ourselves from some of the harsher effects of hierarchy and alienation, but only at the great cost of both isolating and inhibiting ourselves, as well as deforming our activities and thoughts. Character can be variously manifested as: compulsive inhibitions, chronic muscular tensions and anxieties, chronic feelings of guilt, perceptual blocks or a chronic narrowing of the perceptual field, exaggerated respect for authority figures, adherence to dogmas and inability to think for oneself, compulsive fears or paranoia, chronic feelings of insecurity, compulsive role-playing and inability to drop pretenses and "be oneself," religious beliefs and beliefs in other types of absolutes, racism, sexism, ad nauseum. Character is the integrated organization of all the internalized and habitual incapacities which serve to adapt individuals to the demands of an irrational society. It is the means by which hierarchical and alienating social structures have invaded and colonized our very bodies and experience. We have all been crippled by it. Many people have been so mutilated that they now identify more with repressive and exploitative institutions than with their own spontaneous impulses, desires and feelings. Character is a mechanism created by the interaction of social conditioning and our responses to it. It enables us above all to

treat others and ourselves (and be treated by others) as commodities on the market to be bought and sold, and as objects within hierarchies to be ordered and manipulated. Hierarchical capitalist society demands that human beings be treated everywhere as if they are really only objects. The development of character is our way of becoming those objects and forgetting that we were once something more. (For a more detailed description of the concept of character from our perspective, see "Beyond character and morality," available from the C.A.L.--send an S.A.S.E.--or in an abridged version in **Reinventing Anarchy; What are the anarchists thinking these days?**, edited by Ehrlich, Ehrlich, DeLeon & Morris, published by Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979. Or see the classic text by Wilhelm Reich, **Character Analysis**, published by Noonday Press.)



Ideology is the manifestation of character in the realm of logic, language and symbols.

It is the means by which alienation and hierarchies (and thus character) are all rationalized and justified through the deformation of human thought and communication. All ideology in essence involves the substitution of alien concepts or images for human subjectivity. Ideologies are systems of false consciousness in which people no longer see themselves as subjects in their relation to their world. Instead they see themselves in some manner as though they are objects which are subordinated to some type or other of abstract entities which become the "real" subjects or actors in their world. Whenever any system of ideas and duties is structured with an abstraction at its center--assigning people roles or duties for its own sake--such a system is always an ideology. All the various forms of ideology are structured around different abstractions, yet they all always serve the interests of hierarchical and alienating social structures, since they are hierarchy and alienation in the realm of thought and communication. Even if an ideology



According to the classical description of alienation in the realm of work under capitalism, when people's labor-activity is sold to capitalists in exchange for a wage, this labor-activity is alienated. Since it is controlled by the capitalist (whether the capitalist is a person or an institution such as a corporation or the state) and not by the individual, the individual worker finds her/himself acting according to the dictates of a logic that is externally imposed. S/he becomes a mere cog in the machinery of a productive apparatus which has a purpose above and beyond those of all the workers involved in it. Each individual worker is isolated from the rest as much as possible by the corporate or bureaucratic management of large businesses, while the lines of hierarchical authority maintain discipline within a rigid division of labor in an organizational system designed to make profits, accumulate capital, and reproduce the power of the managers. The collective activity of all the atomized working people thus continually reproduces an entire organizational system which appears to take on an inertia and direction of its own as even the actions of the managers be-

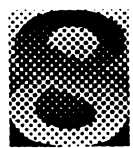
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opposes hierarchy or alienation in its **content**, its **form** still remains consistent with what is opposed, and this form will **always** tend to undermine the apparent content of the ideology. Whether the abstraction is God, the State, Technology, the Family, Humanity, Peace, Work, Love, or even Freedom; if it is conceived and presented as if it is a subject with a being of its own which makes demands of us, then it is the center of an ideology, and it is a lie. Capitalism, Individualism, Communism, Socialism, and Pacifism are each ideological in some respect as they are usually conceived. Religion and Morality are always ideological by definition. Even resistance, revolution, and anarchism often take on ideological dimensions when we are not careful to maintain a critical awareness of how we are thinking and what the actual purposes of our thoughts are. Ideology is nearly ubiquitous. From advertisements and commercials, to academic treatises and scientific studies, almost every aspect of contemporary thinking and communication is ideological, and its real meaning for human subjects is lost under layers of mystification and confusion.

(For a more detailed description of ideological or positive theory, as well as its contrast with critical theory, see "An introduction to critical theory," available from the C.A.L.--send an S.A.S.E.)



At the epitome of ideological mystification lies the spectacle. The spectacle is the organization of appearances made possible through all the modern media of communication. The ease with which images can be detached from their sources and reorganized for representation in these media in accord with the ideologies of our dominant institutions forms the technical basis for the manipulation of not just isolated images and ideologies, but of the appearance of reality itself. As the scope and power of the spectacular organization of society increases, more and more of what was once directly lived, has been reduced to

its re-presentation as images to be consumed. For the organization of spectacular activity is also the organization of the actual social passivity of its spectators, which is its necessary counterpart. Instead of living their lives directly, people are increasingly seduced into becoming mere spectators who consume the images of their own alienated lives that are unilaterally presented to them by the dominant institutions of modern society. The spectacle is not a collection of images, but more importantly it is a social relation among people mediated by images. The major problem with contemporary media is not just that they always present hierarchical perspectives as if no others are possible (although this ideological narrowness of content obviously exists). It is a far deeper problem of the very form or structure of the mass media. In the end content is less important than the hierarchical and alienating structure of the media which present it. Whatever the overt messages, the ubiquitous, but covert message produced is that each of us is only a powerless spectator in a world over which we can have no control. Our only choice is to select between the options allowed us by the invisible powers which determine everything else.



If our institutions, culture, and social relations were really direct expressions of our own collective desires and needs they would rarely be questioned. There would be little opposition to them since they would be fulfilling their purposes. But whenever a system of alienating social relationships is imposed upon people as ours is, it inevitably engenders widespread resistance. Such engendered resistance is the natural result of forcing people to accept an alien way of life as if it were really their own. Whenever people are forced to repress and to act against their own impulses, perceptions, judgement and values, they tend to rebel--sometimes directly, openly and consciously, but often covertly, or even

unconsciously. Even when such an alien system exists for generations, and people are so "socialized" and indoctrinated that it comes to seem more real than their own selves, even then there is inevitably widespread resistance, though it may express itself only sporadically and largely remain confined to subterranean undercurrents of rebellion or negativity. The institutionalization of repression and alienation is always followed by a return of the repressed. In the psychoanalytic conception of human nature repressed drives, desires, and wishes are seen as never being annihilated outright, but instead always return to people's experience expressed in other forms (such as in their dreams or unconscious slips). Similarly, institutional repression never entirely annihilates people's ultimately ineradicable desire to live and control their own lives. Rather, people's resistance to the imposition of the artificial constraints of fundamentally irrational and authoritarian social systems will always continue to be expressed in thousands of ways in each day of each person's life. This engendered resistance within the heart of our everyday lives is a natural and spontaneous response to the imposition of authoritarian social relationships. It is a generalized, yet usually unconscious movement of negation which contains within itself the seeds of all potentially conscious movements for libertarian social change. And in fact, most other radical political, social and religious movements also have their roots here. From a vague and ambiguous urge to "do something" or "change things", to minimal acts like high-school vandalism, on-the-job theft, and ridicule of authority figures, to major acts like the decision to participate in a riot or wildcat strike; spontaneous expressions of negativity may be the unexplored and uncharted pivotal points which hold the most promise for genuine social radicalism in the near future. At the least we must realize that the exclusion of all but conscious and coherent activities from one's perception of political "reality" can only be self-

defeating where radical perspectives are concerned.



It might seem intuitively obvious that any act of resistance to a repressive and alienating social system is a step (no matter how small) in the direction of creating a new society. However, such an assumption is far from the truth. In practice, it becomes obvious that many acts which superficially appear opposed to hierarchy and capital, are in actuality quite compatible with them. These acts of partial opposition always begin with a basic acceptance of the necessity for hierarchical power and social alienation, and only resist specific "abuses" or "injustices" within the overall system. Because partial opposition has such a narrow focus on reforming only certain aspects of the social structure, it has the paradoxical effect of strengthening the social system it appears to fight by legitimizing the overall system at the same time as it helps it depressurize and adapt to demands for social change. This depressurization of social forces demanding change is sometimes called "recuperation." By recuperating impulses toward genuine social change, and channelling these impulses toward the real or imagined reform of the existing social system, the system not only eliminates a threat to its continued existence, but it also strengthens its hold on people by giving the impression that fundamental reforms may be possible by a piecemeal process, and that any more radical opposition might threaten reforms already made. Partial opposition is always contrary to any genuinely radical opposition because it always accepts the ground rules of hierarchical commodity society as its own. Liberal reformists, "radical" moralists, and social democrats would all prefer that we fought for "realistic" reforms on our knees than for radical change on our feet.

False opposition is a special case of partial opposition. It is an attempt to appear total or radical, while remain-

Religion NO Leaders

ing only partial in actual practice. This type of opposition is especially typical of Marxist-Leninist groups. They claim to be revolutionary, but their actual practice reproduces all the hierarchical and bureaucratic tendencies of the society they criticize. Despite their radical pretensions, they ultimately maintain only a coup d'etat mentality and seek to install themselves in power as a new and "enlightened" ruling class. A further special case of partial opposition can be called **spectacular** opposition. Spectacular opposition involves the manufacture of an image of revolt which has few or no roots in any real social existence. In this type of imaginary opposition, celluloid images of revolt are created by "media radicals," or by the media itself, whose content is minimal or absent.

Radical opposition on the other hand attempts to subvert hierarchy and alienation at their roots. It is always a conscious opposition to the totality of the existing social system since it is based on an understanding of how that system operates in an integrated fashion **as a whole**. This holistic perspective reveals that when only one aspect of the system is challenged, the system as a whole will compensate and recuperate the challenge until it has been sufficiently defused and reintegrated, at which time the system is then able to begin reversing any reforms which no longer serve its purposes. The only type of movement which can ever hope for real change is one which challenges the social system as a whole at all times, even when it is concentrating on particular aspects of that system.

11

The absolute elimination of all social alienation is probably an impossibility, and those who demand the attainment of such abstract absolutes are most likely dogmatic fanatics to be avoided. They are the would-be Robespierres of future reigns of terror. However, between the Scylla of fanaticism and the Charybdis of an unprincipled and opportunistic reformism, lies what we believe to be a realizable and viable conception of a qualitatively more free, equi-

table and enjoyable social system. Such a system would not be "pure" or "perfect," but it could involve a genuinely radical restructuring of society that would change the balance of social relations--ending the current historical dominance of hierarchical and authoritarian social relationships, and replacing that dominance with a self-reinforcing system of non-hierarchical social relationships which can be called a type of anarchy.

12

Anarchy literally means "no ruler." In its best sense it signifies a social system in which political hierarchies and authoritarianism are not tolerated. Instead of hierarchical rule by monolithic institutions over the general public, anarchy in this sense demands the most complete, widespread and effectively direct control possible by all those who are involved. This does not just mean that anarchists have some sort of vague or abstract belief in "democracy," or "consensus," or "individualism." This means that anarchists demand explicitly direct and concrete popular participation within and control of every significant social institution by those who are affected by them--not just control over institutional organization and management, but also and just as importantly, over their direction, ends and very existence. This can only be achieved through widespread and conscious commitment to libertarian social and institutional values and practices (self-management, spontaneity, autonomy, cooperation, human-scale organization, direct responsibility/accountability/action, and maximum flexibility) within a reorganized institutional framework centered around very specific, workable and effective means of libertarian communication and decision-making.

13

Any genuine resistance and opposition to hierarchical society--any movement which seeks to make a real and significant qualitative change in the way society is organized--must be a self-consciously and critically radical social movement. And any



such movement must involve as its central feature a prefiguring of the type of society which it seeks to create, both in its own organization and in the quality of the everyday social relationships which it fosters. The concept of prefiguration is another way of saying that the means of social transformation largely determine the end which is produced. Thus a traditionally Marxist-Leninist movement will almost invariably translate the dictatorial style of its typical means (hierarchical political party organization, ideological and dogmatic thinking, "democratic centralism," a vanguardist mentality, and generally conservative social values) into the actual monolithic bureaucratic dictatorships we have come to expect as its end (Russia, China, Cuba, Vietnam, etc.). While on the contrary, libertarian revolutionary movements attempt to create alternative organizations and counter-institutions (directly and democratically controlled) as means toward the end of creating a genuinely self-managed society. In practice these organizations can be (and have been) as diverse as anarchist affinity groups and federations; rank-and-file workers groups, anarcho-sindicalist unions, and factory committees or councils; libertarian community groups, neighborhood groups and municipal movements; collectives and cooperatives of all types; a multitude of cultural institutions from workers centers, study circles, free schools, radical libraries and documentation centers to cafes and punk clubs; as well as guerilla groups and factory or community self-defense groups and militias when necessary.

14

We understand that the conditions of our lives and our experiences in the dominant social institutions constantly drive us to question, resist, and find the methods of organization which challenge the established social order and established patterns of thought. On the other hand, we recognize that we are fragmented, dispossessed of the means of communication, and we are all at different levels of awareness and consciousness. The Columbia Anarchist League is one small self-organized group within a worldwide movement of people who are committed to changing their lives and transforming their world. We do not see ourselves as yet another leadership looking for followers, but as a group of like-minded people working toward a more libertarian society. We seek to help demystify all the ideological pretensions which paralyze people and leave them powerless to act outside of established institutions. We seek to challenge every instance of hierarchy, exploitation, alienation and mystification, to stimulate, encourage and help people who are involved in libertarian struggles, and to generalize our experiences, to make a total critique of our condition and its causes, and to help develop the widespread revolutionary consciousness and activity necessary for the total transformation of life.

If you would like to learn more about anarchy and anarchist movements subscribe to **ANARCHY**; a journal of desire armed (\$3/6 issues) or write to: Columbia Anarchist League P.O. Box 380 Columbia, MO. 65205

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